

existing emergency. It has the best spirit of Amity. It showed itself in the brightest days of Greece, where colonists moved in organized bands. It became a part of the nature policy of Rome, where bodies of men were constituted expressly for this purpose, *fraternitas ad colonos deducenda*. (Liv., xxvii, 1, 46.) Naturally it has been accepted in all times by every civilized State. With the sanction of Spain, an association of Genoese merchants first introduced slaves to this continent. With the sanction of France, the Society of Jesus stretched their labor over Canada and the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. It was under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Companies, that our country was originally settled, by the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth, the adventurers of Virginia, and by the philanthropic Oglethorpe, whose benevolence of soul commiserated by Pope, sought to plant a Free State in Georgia. At this day, these associations, of a similar character, are found in every State, with offices in the great capitals, through whose efforts emigrants are directed here.

For a long time, emigrations to the West from the Northern and Middle States, but particularly from New England, has been of marked significance. In great of better homes, usually it has passed to the unsettled lands in numbers to be followed by thousands; but this has been done heretofore with little knowledge, and without guide or counsel. Finally, when, by the establishment of a Government in Kansas, the tempting fields of that central region were opened to the competition of peaceful colonization, and especially when it was declared that the question of Slavery and Slavery there to be determined by the votes of actual settlers, then at once was organized an effective agency in quickening and conducting the emigration, and in the end, more than all, in providing homes for it on arrival there.

The Company was first constituted under an act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, 4th of May, 1834, some weeks prior to the passage of the Nebraska bill. The original act of incorporation was subsequently abandoned, and a new charter received in February, 1835, in which the objects of the Society are thus declared:

"For the purpose of directing and conducting the emigration of persons to the Territory of Kansas, and for the purpose of settling and cultivating the same, and for the purpose of establishing a Free State in Kansas."

At any other moment, an association for these purposes would have taken its place by general consent, among the philanthropic experiments of the age; but Crime is always suspicious, and shakes, like a sick man, merely at the pointing of a finger. The conspirators against Freedom in Kansas now shook with tremor, real or affected. Their wicked plot was abandoned. To help themselves, they denounced the Emigrant Aid Company; and their denunciations, after finding an echo in the President, have been repeated, with much particularity, on this floor, in the formal report of your committee.

The falsehood of the whole accusation will appear in narrative specimens.

A charter is set out, every section, which, though originally granted, was subsequently abandoned, and is not in reality the charter of the Company, but is materially unlike it.

The Company is represented as "a powerful corporation, with a capital of five millions," when, by its actual charter, it is not allowed to hold property above one million, and, in point of fact, its capital has not exceeded \$100,000.

Then, again, it is suggested, if not alleged, that this enormous capital, which I have already said does not exist, is invested in "cannon and rifles, in powder and lead, in military and naval stores, in arms and accoutrements, in the purchase of land, in the purchase of the officers of the Company authorize me to give to this whole pretension a point-blank denial.

All these allegations are of small importance, and I mention them because they show the character of the report, and as a means of guiding the public eye, and the Senator from Illinois has chosen to plant himself on them. But these are all capped by the unblushing assertion that the proceedings of the Company "in perversion of the plain provisions of an Act of Congress," and "as certain unblushing assertion, as 'certain and undeniable,' that the Company was formed to promote certain objects, and to secure the rights and wishes of the people as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and secured by their organic law;" when it is certain and undeniable that the Company has done nothing in perversion of any Act of Congress, while to the extent of its power it has sought to protect the rights and wishes of the actual people in the Territory.

Sir, this Company has violated in no respect the Constitution or laws of the land; not in the severest letter or the slightest spirit. But every other imputation is equally baseless. It is not true, as the Senator from Illinois has alleged, in order in some way to compromise the Company, that it was informed before the public of the date fixed for the election of the Legislature. This statement is pronounced by the Secretary, in a letter now before me, "unqualified falsehood, not having even the shadow of a shade of truth by its basis." It is not true that men have been hired to go to Kansas, for every emigrant, who has gone under its direction, has himself provided the means for his journey. Of course, sir, it is not true, as has been complained by the Senator from South Carolina, with that proclivity to error which marks all his utterances, that men have been sent by the Company "to one uniform gun, Sharpe's rifle," for it has supplied arms of any kind to anybody. It is not true that the Company has encouraged any fanatical aggression upon the people of Missouri; for it has counselled order, peace, forbearance. It is not true that the Company has chosen its emigrants on account of their political opinions, or that it has asked no questions with regard to the opinions of any whom it aids, and at this moment stands ready to forward them from the South as well as the North, while, in the Territory, all, from whatever quarter, are admitted to an equal enjoyment of its tempting advantages. It is not true that the Company has chosen its emigrants on account of their political opinions; for it has asked no questions with regard to the opinions of any whom it aids, and at this moment stands ready to forward them from the South as well as the North, while, in the Territory, all, from whatever quarter, are admitted to an equal enjoyment of its tempting advantages. It is not true that the Company has chosen its emigrants on account of their political opinions; for it has asked no questions with regard to the opinions of any whom it aids, and at this moment stands ready to forward them from the South as well as the North, while, in the Territory, all, from whatever quarter, are admitted to an equal enjoyment of its tempting advantages.

extensive connections, by blood and marriage, on the side of that quietism which submits to the tyranny of the Slave Power. Its Directors are more conspicuous for wealth and science, than for any activity against Slavery. Among these is an eminent lawyer of Massachusetts, Mr. Chapman, a well-known, doubtless, to some who hear me—who has distinguished himself by an austere conservatism, too natural to the atmosphere of courts, which does not flinch even from the support of a public meeting in Springfield; this gentleman thus speaks for himself and his associates:

"I have been a Director of the Society from the first, and have kept myself well informed in regard to its proceedings. I am not aware that any one in this community ever suspected me of being, as I am accused to be, a tool of the Slave Power. I have been a Director of the Society from the first, and have kept myself well informed in regard to its proceedings. I am not aware that any one in this community ever suspected me of being, as I am accused to be, a tool of the Slave Power. I have been a Director of the Society from the first, and have kept myself well informed in regard to its proceedings. I am not aware that any one in this community ever suspected me of being, as I am accused to be, a tool of the Slave Power."

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

#### Republican National Convention.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION met, according to announcement, at the Musical Fund Hall this morning. Long before 9 o'clock the streets, between Eighth and Ninth, was thronged with delegates, outside pressmen, political adventurers, anxious and eager to get into the hall, and to witness the exciting scenes, ceremonies and proceedings of the great National Convention.

Those whose duty and whose business it was to be present, found the greatest difficulty in effecting an entrance to the hall, only to find that the latter has every entrance blocked up by long lines of every stamp and hue of political principle, want of principle, and complexion.

The hall, which is one of the first in America, was provided with every accommodation for the Press and Delegates—the former having eighty-four seats set apart for them, while the latter has every provision made for their comfort. The arrangements throughout were creditable to the Committee having the matter in charge.

The seats in the hall were arranged in such a manner that the delegates from the various States could sit together—the seats being labeled with the names of the different States represented. The Convention is composed of a fine-looking body of men, among whom we noticed quite a large number of men of intellect and national reputation as orators and statesmen. It is, altogether, a highly respectable body.

The meeting was called to order by E. D. Morgan, Esq., who nominated Hon. R. D. Webb, of New York, as temporary Chairman. The nomination was unanimously ratified. Mr. Webb addressed the Convention in a few well-timed and eloquent remarks, which were received with enthusiastic applause.

Rev. Albert Barnes opened the deliberations of the Convention with prayer.

On motion of A. P. Stone, of Ohio, a Committee on Credentials of one from each State and Territory represented, was appointed.

The Committee on Platform, is as follows: Maine, Henry Carter; New Hampshire, Hon. Daniel Clarke; Massachusetts, R. R. Ford; Connecticut, Hon. Gideon Wells; Rhode Island, Hon. Thos. Davis; Vermont, Hon. Edward Carter; New York, Hon. Preston King; New Jersey, Edward Wetherill; Delaware, Edward G. Bradley; Maryland, Francis P. Blair, (Freemason); Virginia, John C. Underwood; Pennsylvania, Hon. David Wilmont; Ohio, Joshua R. Giddings; Michigan, Hon. Isaac P. Christianity; Wisconsin, John P. Potter; Indiana, J. P. Duffene; Illinois, George L. Brown; Iowa, James B. Howell; California, John A. Willis; Kansas, J. L. Widgett; District of Columbia, Jacob Biggs; Kentucky, Geo. D. Blackey; Minnesota, Geo. A. Ramsey; Connecticut, Charles L. English.

A Committee on Permanent Officers was also appointed.

On motion, a Committee from the Council of One Hundred of the Free Soil Democracy of New York, were invited to take seats in the hall.

#### THE PLATFORM.

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present administration; to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

Resole, That the maintenance of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our Republican Institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction.

We, the undersigned Republican Fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States by any legislation prohibiting its extension or extension thereof.

That we deny the authority of Congress of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution should be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States, for their government, and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people "in order to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the present constitutionality of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them.

Their territory has been invaded by an armed force;

Spurious and pre-emptive legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

They have been deprived of life, liberty and property, without due process of law;

That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

Murders, robberies and arson have been investigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign that administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country, and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the best effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that might makes right, embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unwarranted, and that the administration would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that give it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and in the auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and commerce of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared, as well as the constitution of our country, guaranteeing liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens who oppose all legislation impairing their security.

Gov. Patterson, of New York, withdrew the name of Wm. H. Seward from before the Convention.

Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, then read the following letter from Judge McLean, after which he withdrew the name of Judge McLean from the Convention.

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That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign that administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country, and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the best effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that might makes right, embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unwarranted, and that the administration would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that give it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and in the auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and commerce of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared, as well as the constitution of our country, guaranteeing liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens who oppose all legislation impairing their security.

Gov. Patterson, of New York, withdrew the name of Wm. H. Seward from before the Convention.

Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, then read the following letter from Judge McLean, after which he withdrew the name of Judge McLean from the Convention.

#### THE PLATFORM.

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present administration; to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

Resole, That the maintenance of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our Republican Institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction.

We, the undersigned Republican Fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States by any legislation prohibiting its extension or extension thereof.

That we deny the authority of Congress of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution should be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States, for their government, and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people "in order to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the present constitutionality of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them.

Their territory has been invaded by an armed force;

Spurious and pre-emptive legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

They have been deprived of life, liberty and property, without due process of law;

That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

Murders, robberies and arson have been investigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign that administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country, and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

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